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CATHOLICISM AND PEACE

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH KEATING, S.J.

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"The Christ of the Andes"

In March 1904 there was erected at the summit of a lofty mountain-pass between Chile and the Argentine a colossal bronze statue of our Lord with a cross in His left hand and His right raised to bless the world. This monument was set up to commemorate the conclusion, in 1902, of a long-drawn boundary dispute between the two countries which had more than once brought them to the verge of war, and which was finally decided by the award of the late King Edward. As a result of his arbitration, both countries were able to begin a process of disarmament, and in 1903 Chile sold her two first-class battleships to Great Britain. In both States the reduction of war estimates has been followed by great development of internal resources, scientific education, road-making, and the like. The peace sentiment which has wrought such happy results originated in the eloquent protest of an Argentine Bishop, Mgr. Benevente, against the senseless waste of men and money involved in war for such a cause. These facts occurring as and where they did, have furnished a valuable object-lesson to the civilized nations. The most striking example of Christian principles applied to international relations has come from a part of the globe wherein we are wont to consider war as prevalent as it was amidst the ancient republics of Greece, and it has come owing to the guidance and

inspiration of the Church. May it be that the "Christ of the Andes," that symbol of peace secured by arbitration, will extend His divine influence in the near future over the whole earth, and banish from the civilization which His religion has created the necessity of that appeal to physical Might which hitherto the weakness of moral Right has too frequently demanded.

The fact that Arbitration—the appeal to law instead of to force for the settlement of international disputes—is much before the public mind to-day and is advocated from a great variety of motives, makes it pertinent to inquire what is the real teaching of Christ's religion (which we hold to be identified with Catholicism) in regard to International Peace, and what attitude should be consequently assumed by those that profess that religion in regard to the movement for the abolition of War.

I shall attempt, then, to analyze the conditions which make for and against International Peace, and to indicate in what points they should meet with the approval or with the condemnation of those fully imbued with the Catholic spirit.

What is meant by Peace?

Peace, whether in the family, the State, or the world at large, is the moral condition which results from the complete harmony of human wills, a harmony which is itself due to practical identity of views and interests, or to such readiness to suppress divergencies as amounts to the same thing. As we regard the world to-day, such peace is clearly an unattainable ideal. It is not easy to find harmony of will between members of the same family who have so much to unite them; still less easy between citizens of the same State, bound together though they be by social and political ties; whilst in the nature of things it is

not to be expected that independent States, which have only the bond of human nature in common and much to set them at variance, should be uniformly peaceful in their relations with each other. We shall the less regret the fact that perfect peace cannot be attained on earth when we reflect that such harmony is not necessarily a good thing nor contention of wills necessarily evil. A certain amount of opposition, enough to provide a stimulus yet not so much as to discourage effort, seems to be necessary to call forth the full energies of our characters. As in things physical friction is necessary for locomotion, so in the mental and moral planes our advance is facilitated by the resistance we encounter, so long as that resistance is not too great for our powers. If all were peace, for instance, in the spiritual life, if the individual were never tempted, from within or from without, to wrongdoing, it is certain that habits of virtue would be less deeply rooted than they are. This suggests a most important consideration which enables us to define our subject more exactly. The peace which Christ came on earth to establish is that and that only which results from the observance of *justice*; all strife and contention which has the triumph of justice for object is, so far, praiseworthy; all harmony that arises from cowardly or malicious acquiescence in wrongdoing and so promotes injustice, is condemned. The human mind being finite, there must necessarily arise different opinions amongst men and divergencies of will; nay, we read in Holy Writ that even the angels may dispute about their respective charges.[1] Christian peace is not violated by such disputes, the parties to which are really united in their common desire for righteousness and take rational means to attain it. So the Catholic Church in preaching peace is in reality contending for what is the only sure foundation of peace, viz. the prevalence

[1] Dan. x. 13, 20.

of justice, the giving to every one, citizen or foreigner, individual or corporation, what rightly belongs to him. Christianity recognizes no peace which is not founded in justice, and only Christianity adequately sets forth what justice involves, distinguishing between the values of various rights and deriving them from their true sources. Accordingly, we are taught that, not on commercial considerations nor solidarity of interests nor political union, but only on the principles of International Justice may be securely raised the structure of International Peace.

Why has not Catholicism produced Peace?

This being so, what is it that prevents that foundation being well and truly and permanently laid? How is it that the teaching of Christ has been kept before the world for nigh two thousand years, and yet no so-called Christian nation can be trusted to deal justly with another? The Church in her history has done wonders with the corrupt human race. She has destroyed Cæsarism — State tyranny — without weakening the principle of authority; she has made the citizen a free man and yet a willing subject; she has asserted the essential equality of all human beings whilst maintaining the hierarchy of social order. In civil and domestic relations she has fostered the influence of the moral law; she has abolished slavery, raised the status of woman, safeguarded the family, discredited the duel and the vendetta, denounced usury and sweated labour, made manual toil honourable, mitigated even the horrors of war. But she has not yet been able to make Justice an international concern. What is there about nations that prevents them from allowing their disputes to be settled by law as are the disputes of their constituent members? No Christian can deny the universal range of the moral law, or say that,

while it binds the individual, society as a whole is not also bound by it. States can violate God's commandments just as truly as their citizens can. Why is it, therefore, that in spite of Christianity the general policy of each civilized State is based on the assumption that, given occasion, the moral law will be powerless to keep its neighbours from wrong-doing? The answer is — because the principle of nationality has escaped from the control of the Church.

The Principle of Nationality and the Church Universal

That mankind should be permanently split up into separate nations is doubtless a fact of Nature and, therefore, part of the divine scheme of its Author. Clearly, God has provided that individuals should be grouped in families, and that families should combine in distinct States. For this combination is the result of various natural causes, external and internal —the growth of the family into the tribe, geographical and climatic conditions, the evolution of distinct languages, and the necessity of providing against lawlessness—and it seems to be as needful for the progress of civilization as the power to hold private property is for the development of the individual.

So far, mankind has faithfully carried out these providential arrangements, because they are on the natural plane and make for natural well-being. Thus the principle of nationality which finds expression in the natural virtue of patriotism, is a good one in its place and degree. But it needs checking and limiting, just as the principle of exclusive ownership does, and for that purpose Divine Wisdom has set up a world-wide organization which, by keeping before men's eyes their common origin and common destiny, makes prominent a bond between all the members of the

human race which is deeper, stronger, and more permanent than any of the forces tending to separate them. The Church stands for the Brotherhood of Man, proclaiming that the one abiding State is not here, that God regards not differences of race or class, that our real "neighbours" are all who need our help and sympathy, and that within her fold there is no longer Jew nor Greek, slave nor freeman, male nor female; so completely united are all Christians in the love and service of their Master.[1] The Church Catholic is not opposed to the principle of nationality, save when that principle is pushed beyond its due bounds to the practical denial of more fundamental truths. She does not deny, nay, she purifies and spiritualizes the virtue of patriotism, basing it upon the same grounds as those which support the dutiful regard of children towards their parents. If we ask how far is an ardent love of country, prompting to self-devoted service of its necessarily temporal and earthly interests, compatible with the full possession of the Gospel spirit, she answers that to be perfect we need not be cosmopolitan. Patriotism is consistent with the highest sanctity. It was conspicuous in St. Columba, the Apostle of Scotland, "an exile from Erin," who felt and protested all his life long his passionate regrets for the "blameless Ireland" he had left. "My heart," he cried, "is broken within my breast: if death suddenly carry me off, 'twill be because of my great love for the Gaels."[2] It shone with transfigured lustre in the life of a more modern Saint, Blessed Joan of France, whom it spurred, not to mere regrets, but to actual warfare on behalf of her beloved country. Love of the Fatherland and loyalty to lawful authority are qualities held in honour in Catholicism, because they are parts of the great virtue of Justice which she upholds. Just as the individual

[1] See Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11.

[2] Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, iii. 2.

has rights even against members of his family and the family has rights against the State, so the State has rights against other States. It must be able to assert its freedom from foreign control, for this constitutes its independence; it must have power to organize itself on its own lines, and thus gain the internal unity and coherence which justify its independence. Both these rights must be upheld by its patriotic members, for they are real rights. But justice must also condition their exercise. Our conduct as members of an earthly state must be in harmony with our duties as exiled citizens of a heavenly country. God's claims are always paramount, and the love of our earthly fatherland, as the love of our earthly father, must not be at variance with the love of our Father who is in heaven. Hence the profound immorality of that "Jingo" cry, so often heard at times of national crisis—"My country, right or wrong!" No man is free to uphold his country, any more than he is free to help his family, in wrongdoing. And although the counsels of spiritual perfection do not apply to nations, because nations have no after-existence to provide for, still they too lie under the yoke of the Commandments. Not even in international ethics does the end justify the means. So what Christianity does for patriotism is to clarify its vision and direct its impulses, making it rational as well as instinctive and preventing it from degenerating into an arrogant selfishness.

Catholicism meant to Condition the National Spirit

Thus the answer to the question why these most desirable results have not *de facto* followed upon the introduction of Christianity may be given simply in the words of St. Paul,—"All do not obey the gospel." [1]

[1] Rom. x. 16.

Mankind as a whole has not yet submitted to God's provision of that higher synthesis, that universal supernatural union by which the different races of men should be joined together, here as well as hereafter, as members of His Church. And thus it is that the patriotic instinct escapes from its divinely-arranged checks and degenerates into "nationalism," which is a practical denial of God's universal Fatherhood, reproducing on a larger scale and with even less justification all that is obnoxious in personal vanity —selfishness, narrowness of view, lying, contempt of others, uncharitableness and injustice of every description. This is patriotism grown rank, an evil weed which has often smothered the fragrant virtue of Christian unity. We are not concerned here to trace its expression in history, it even disfigured and disintegrated what we commonly call united Christendom, but no one can deny that it received a great stimulus by the break-up of that common faith in the sixteenth century. The bond of Catholic belief, which did something for international harmony by reminding men of their common destiny, then largely disappeared, and religious was added to racial antagonism. Moreover, the intense individualism of the Protestant system, proclaiming in a wrong sense the spiritual autonomy of every soul, has naturally tended to foster self-assertion. Humility as a virtue was unknown in the pre-Christian world, then our Lord's example showed it to be the queen of the moral virtues, but Protestant Christianity by its exaggeration of personal liberty has dethroned it and set up in its place a spurious independence. "A considerable measure of pride, or self-assertion," says Lecky,[1] "is an invariable characteristic of free communities." Now, self-assertive citizens tend to make a self-assertive State, and a self-assertive State tends to become repressive of

[1] *History of European Morals*, ii. 199. Lecky, a true Protestant, considers pride to be a virtue, of which arrogance is one vicious extreme.

other States, and so a constant danger to the peace of the world. By destroying the union of Christendom and unduly fostering the spirit of individualism, the Reformation has dealt that cause a wound which can only be fully healed by a return to those lost ideals.

Catholicism must aim at Uniting the Peoples

To further the return of Christian principles, then, to international dealings is the task of the Catholic believer, and there is abundant motive both in the love of his religion and of his country to stimulate him to exertion in the cause of international Peace. From a variety of reasons, as widely separated as the cosmopolitanism of finance and the solidarity of the working classes, the minds of men in these latter days have been occupied more and more with the question of harmony between the nations.

Two Modern Tendencies

The age, indeed, presents a strange contrast between a growing sentiment in favour of peace and the keenest rivalry in preparation for war. The influences which make for international harmony, and the means to express international enmity, are both of them ever on the increase, and it is a matter of grave concern which of the two is finally to get the upper hand. It would almost seem that, through a misinterpretation of the proverb *si vis pacem, para bellum*, the universal desire for safety might result in making war inevitable. The saying, of course, means—secure peace by being strong enough to defend yourself, which is wise enough counsel in a fallen world. But it is apparently being made to mean—make yourself so strong that your rivals cannot resist your aggression; and this, if the rivals also follow it, is advice which must needs lead to ruinous competition in military expenditure, if not to actual war.

All reasonable people and, therefore, all practical Christians, will be in sympathy with the movement which aims at checking this costly and mistaken policy by substituting in international relations recognition of the stronger right instead of the right of the stronger. For what is the result of this freedom of the principle of nationality from the corrective of a universal recognition of the moral law?

"The repudiation of Christian principles" (wrote Leo. XIII. on the occasion of his Jubilee as Pope[1]), "those principles which are so powerfully effective in cementing the brotherhood of people and in uniting the whole human race in a kind of immense family, has gradually produced in the international order a system of jealous egoism, in consequence of which the nations regard one another, if not always with hatred, at least with the distrust which animates rivals."

Thus, owing to this unduly intensified nationalism, the world at large resembles nothing so much as a community where the supreme authority cannot secure respect for law and order. In that case, each individual, having to provide for his own safety, barricades his house and goes about armed; industry is checked, security imperilled, money wasted, lives lost, for there can be no peace or stability in a society where each family has independently to do its own police-work. But the nations are all doing their own police-work independently at enormous cost, direct and indirect.

Or we may compare each of the sovereign states of the world to a widely-extended business much exposed to risks. In the history of such a concern a point may easily be reached when its profits are all but absorbed by its insurance policies. In the case of the modern State those policies are its expenses for armament both by land and sea, and those risks, the possibility of unjust aggression on the part of other nations. The risks are very real, for reasonable

[1] March 19th, 1902.

men, without grave cause, do not expend millions of pounds annually on unproductive enterprises. On the other hand, the policies are exceedingly heavy, and civilization, crushed by the burden, is at last casting about for a means to insure its safety at less cost. To this, it must be owned, rather than to the better appreciation of the spirit of Christianity, though that certainly is not absent, is due the growing movement in favour of arbitration and consequent reduction of armaments. Let us examine these insurance policies a little more closely.

The Burden of Armaments

"The menacing multiplication of armies (said Pope Leo, exactly twenty-three years ago) is rather calculated to excite rivalry and suspicion than to repress them. It troubles men's minds by a restless expectation of coming disasters, and, meanwhile, it weighs down the citizens with expenses so heavy that one may doubt whether they are not even more intolerable than war itself."[1]

We may turn to the official figures supplied in Parliamentary returns for a statement of what these expenses amount to, confining ourselves to the 1910–1911 War Budgets of the chief military Powers:—

	Army	Navy
British Empire	£61,000,000	£40,603,700
Germany	48,311,896	21,235,090
Austria	18,578,435	3,545,727
France	43,555,180	15,023,019
Italy	12,644,054	8,341,766
Russia	56,191,821	9,723,576
United States	57,514,063	27,845,111

The estimated war-expenditure of Great Britain alone, leaving out India and the Colonies, for the

[1] *Allocution*, February 11th, 1889.

present year is, for Army and Navy, about £72,000,000. And it grows continually whether Liberals or Conservatives are in power; ten years ago it was only £58,000,000, and twenty years ago, about £31,000,000. The Navy alone next year will absorb £44,392,500. Now notice. These are the sums the nations have to pay because they are not practically Christian, *i.e. because they cannot agree to let the moral law control their dealings with one another.* For if it were not that each State feels and knows that regard for law is not at present strong enough to prevent the others from committing acts of injustice, all these armies and navies might be reduced to mere police forces. The sincere and permanent adoption of Christian principles in the mutual dealings of the Powers mentioned above would release about £400,000,000 for the purposes of social development. On the other hand, persistence in an attitude of mutual mistrust must necessarily lead to greater and greater expenditure until something gives way, and the menace of war becomes a ruinous actuality.

Total Disarmament Impossible

No one, of course, can maintain that, taking human nature as it is, universal and total disarmament is at all possible. So long as man is free and can shut his eyes to the penal consequences of his actions, moral considerations are not able of themselves to ensure a general observance of law. Right has ultimately to be embodied in Might to be universally effective. Behind the very law of God itself lies the sanction of eternal reprobation and physical punishment. It is said that in the heyday of early Christianity in Ireland respect for property and person was so genuine and widespread that maidens might wander, jewel-decked and unprotected, throughout the island without fear of molestation. Nowadays, alas! we have to police

our crowded streets and light them all through the night in practical recognition that nothing but a display of physical force can curb the predatory instincts of a section of our fellow-citizens. It is the same with the world at large: an international police force will always be a necessity.

Arbitration backed by the International Police Force

Happily there are signs that common-sense is beginning to triumph over blind racial rivalry, and the civilized States are coming to realize that they can do the necessary police work of the world much more economically, and even more effectively, if they club together. Prudence, economy, efficiency, are seen to join with religion to demand the formal extension of the moral law to the mutual relations of the various sovereign peoples. This means in brief that the Sovereign States should invest the International Arbitration Court already in existence with power to decide all disputes between nations, and use their united forces, reduced to reasonable dimensions, to carry out its decisions. This ideal has already been visualized by the poet who sang of

> "The parliament of men, the federation of the world,"

and it is difficult to see on Christian principles what objections can be raised to it. It is in harmony, for instance, with due regard for national independence. If the only alternative to the horrors of war is bleeding to death through taxation in peace, the independent State has ceased to fulfil its function. The State is not an end in itself but a means ordained by God for the well-being of its members, to whom it secures the order and protection necessary for individual and social progress. But as things are tending to become in most modern States, the burden of taxation, direct

and indirect, will speedily inflict on multitudes of people such a struggle for mere existence that they will have little opportunity for mental or spiritual development,—a state of things which will furnish a forcing-ground for the worst forms of Socialism. If insurance policies thus run away with all the profits, the *raison d'être* of the business is gone. That State is only nominally independent which is so dominated by fear of aggression by powerful neighbours that all its energies are absorbed in preparations for defence. But even granting that independence, how does an appeal to law rather than to force infringe it?

Does Arbitration infringe Independence?

Why is it felt that a nation, by submitting all its disputes to the decision of an outside tribunal, yields up something of its independence and loses some control of its destinies? I think it is because of the prevalence in the world of the false notion that an essential part of true independence is liberty to do wrong. The State, like the individual, is under no physical constraint to do right, but it *is* under the moral constraint of God's law. It is not at liberty to assert its own will irrespective of right. No modern State as a matter of fact does: all pay at least lip-homage to righteousness. Italy at this moment is fighting in Tripoli only, as she says, that justice may prevail; the object of *all* international discussions is to secure that each nation should have its lawful due. Hence it comes simply to a question of method: Which is best calculated to secure the ends of justice which all States are supposed to seek—Arbitration or War? And that question is immediately solved by examining the strictly analogous case of a dispute between two individuals. Two men both claim a piece of property—how can the question of *right* be best settled?—by fighting a duel or by referring the matter to a judge

and jury? The question, I say, is solved simply by stating it. The result of a fight, whatever it settled, cannot possibly determine which was in the right, unless indeed we are to suppose that God always intervenes to make justice prevail. I do not hold that a trial at law is an infallible means of securing justice, but, in the nature of things, it is much better calculated to do so than is the "bloody arbitrament of war." Consequently, to prefer war to arbitration is to evince a less keen desire for justice: it is the choice of a man who turns to the barbarous and ineffective expedient of the duel rather than to the judgment of his peers in order to re-establish his reputation; it suggests a consciousness of a weak claim in justice and a determination to have one's own way independently of moral right; in other words, it is much less Christian. Recourse, then, to arbitration, so far from being a sacrifice of proper independence, is a recognition of the essential dependence on the law of Almighty God which should characterize nations as well as individuals; there is no dishonour involved in being subject to law and in taking the best, though it be an imperfect, means of obtaining justice.

The Interdependence of States

Moreover, as things are, no State is nowadays really independent. Apart from the growing internationalization of commerce and finance and that other international tendency which Socialism and the secret societies have exploited so cleverly for their own ends—the ever more conscious solidarity of the workers in all lands, there are checks and counter-checks in the diplomatic world which grievously hinder the free action of so-called sovereign States. We have seen in recent times that, without moving a soldier, Germany can dismiss a French minister; and no State dare attempt to disturb what is called the balance of power,

in the certainty of instant reclamations from all the rest. And furthermore, what is this necessity of maintaining large and yet larger fleets and armies but itself a state of cruel bondage? We are not free to suit our expenditure to our revenue; foreign nations can force us constantly to increase taxation; in a thousand ways we are fettered and manacled and constrained—all because, to repeat yet again, we choose to be free from the teaching of the Church in the matter of our international relations.

War is not always Wrong because Arbitration is Preferable

Whilst thus urging the adoption of Arbitration as a means of settling all international quarrels, on the ground that it is in fullest harmony with the spirit of Catholicism, I wish to make clear that the Church utters no unqualified condemnation of that other method of settling national disputes—armed conflict. Her doctrine on the subject is readily stated—war as primarily a physical evil may lawfully be employed as an instrument for securing a material or a moral good of proportionate importance. So, and so only, it is justified. The conditions limiting its lawful use are also very definite. It must in the circumstances be the only, or emphatically the best, means to that good end, the good it aims at must be in some way proportionate to the evils it occasions, it must be the act of the supreme authority in the State, and it must be conducted with the due regard to humanity. So waged, the Church does not condemn war or warriors, although in the light of these necessary conditions it must be owned that there are not many wars in history which can wholly escape Christian condemnation. However, it is enough to state that Christian thought or practice does not countenance the doctrine that war is intrinsically immoral, for the Church has always

taught that cases may arise which justify war because they necessitate it. So long as the Universal Arbitration Court of which I have spoken does not actually exist, deriving its authority from the consent of all the sovereign States and finding its sanction in their combined forces—so long, in other words, as there is no tribunal competent to decide without appeal the disputes of the nations—it will still be possible to find justification for war.

War can be Abolished only by Destroying its Causes

Reason declares, with all human experience to emphasize the doctrine, that *in the present state of the world* the surest way to excite war and anarchy is to show oneself too weak to resist them. War, then, can be abolished only by abolishing its causes ; till they go, its instruments must be kept. Meanwhile, it is the duty of each sovereign State to maintain a strong, well-disciplined army, imbued with the spirit of duty and sacrifice, as the only means at present of protecting itself from aggression. Herein, pending the common agreement to be led by the Christian code in international dealings, lies the best, because the only, hope of preserving the world's peace. That these same armies can also be employed to violate justice and promote disorder is unfortunately true—there are few things human that cannot be abused ; still, as before implied, total abolition is not the remedy. We do not abolish razors because they are handy for cutting throats. The disappearance of the world's regular armies, *as things are*, would mean the return of barbarism. Let peace propagandists, therefore, whether Catholics or not, aim at restoring Christianity to its due place in the counsels of the nations, for thus only can the necessity of armies and navies be removed.

The Work before Catholics

But what can we Catholics—and all who are more or less under the influence of Christian ideas—do to bring about this happy consummation? We cannot with our small numbers dictate the political action of the nation; all that we can do is to try to educate and direct public opinion by putting forward definitely the Catholic doctrine about Peace and War and Arbitration. After all, what makes war, or prevents it, nowadays, is not the ambitions of rival dynasties but the consent or the clamour of public opinion, deceived, it may be, by misrepresentations of facts or going blindly forward in the ruts of tradition. If enough people were opposed to it as a costly, ineffectual, and often unnecessary means of aiming at national advantages, war should cease. Men prepare for it and resort to it because they have always been taught to think it is the only way of safeguarding certain ultimate rights. It is not a hopeless matter to change an inveterate persuasion of this sort; others no less inveterate have been swept away with the progress of Christian ideals. There was a time not so long ago when public opinion supported slavery, and slavery flourished in spite of its monstrous iniquity; there was a time when public opinion condoned the duel and the law was powerless to suppress that relic of military barbarism; there was a time when public opinion tolerated public drunkenness. But now to be drunk in public is to be disreputable, to kill a man in a duel is rewarded by the gallows, to traffic in human flesh and blood is left to savages. Public opinion has become so far Christian. It must go further. How can we Catholics help?

The Press as Arbiter of War and Peace

The three great moulders and instructors of public opinion in our day are the pulpit, the press, and the

platform, and of these three, the second is incomparably the most powerful, for it is through the pressman that both priest and politician reach their widest audiences, and the pressman may do much to lessen or strengthen the force of their message. The press, we know, may be and often is a terrible instrument for evil, just as it may be and is less often a mighty engine for good. Against the preaching of a united press, or even of a strong section of it, few of its readers have enough knowledge or independence of judgment to hold out. The "yellow press" in the States, directed, it is said, by one unscrupulous politician, made the Spanish-American War. I may not dwell here on domestic politics, but all will agree that the Boer War, which cost so much in blood and treasure and which actually leaves the Home Government less influential in South Africa than it was before, would not have taken place if the African press had not clamoured for it, or if the English press had opposed it. The press could, if the press would, so determine public opinion to-day that the present movement in favour of peace would become permanent. And if a decisive step forward is not made in the present favourable circumstances, it will be because the press still continues to regard war as inevitable, to find its interest in fomenting national quarrels, and to speak pessimistically of arbitration.

All, then, that the Catholic press can do, all that Catholics can do in the secular press, should be done in the cause of Peace as expressed in Catholic teaching. We have to steer clear of the many false theories on this matter that are afloat in the society around us. We must give countenance neither to that false internationalism which denies the virtue of patriotism altogether nor to that more common exaggeration of the virtue which results in Jingoism, Spread-Eagleism, Chauvinism (no doubt every nation has a name for it), a blind and irrational hostility to the foreigner. The

law of charity as well as that of justice is of universal force; we must not deny to others rights or aspirations which we are free to advocate for ourselves. Jingoism in a Catholic is particularly offensive, for he at least belongs to that great international and supranational organization, the Church, which proclaims and emphasizes the real basic unity of mankind.

Do not be Press-ridden

Furthermore, it is something, if we cannot do much personally to influence the press, to be at least proof against its influence in so far as that is unchristian. We hear of people being priest-ridden: a much more common and insidious malady is it to be press-ridden. I am not over-rash in saying that, partly owing to its inherent character, partly owing to its modern surroundings, the non-Catholic press is not a trustworthy guide in general morals or in this particular moral question of International Peace. For, unfortunately, it so happens that to work conscientiously and persistently for the cause of peace is, generally speaking, against the material interests of a newspaper. Like other organisms, a paper lives by its circulation, and that in turn is promoted by sensation, and there is no sensation like that aroused by war or the rumours of war. These latter again affect the vast network of international finance, and must be mentioned for the guidance of the investing public, and thus the public mind is kept familiarized with the idea of war as the natural, almost inevitable, way of settling disputes. Moreover, without believing all that is said about the unscrupulousness of the press—though Catholics, whose religion is almost universally maligned by correspondents, home and foreign, have little reason to be sceptical—enough evidence comes to light from time to time to show that some British papers (and it is with British papers we are mainly concerned) are

unsound not only in their teaching, but in their practice also, and that war scares are actually manufactured for the purposes of "sensation," or to affect the Stock Exchange, or domestic politics. So that, added to the chance of a paper being inspired by pseudo-nationalism, it may be led to oppose peace for the sake of private interest. One cannot be charged with cynicism in this matter when we remember that, as Horace Walpole tells us, the Birmingham folk, during the war with America, opposed conciliation in the interests of their small-arm factories, and when we recollect how, in nearly every great war, the needs of the army in the field have been heartlessly exploited to increase private gain. It is sad to think that whole classes of people exist to whom war can appeal primarily as a means of making money; but that is a fact to be reckoned with when estimating the contribution of the press to international morality.

Natural Defects of Newspaper Opinions

And even without being actuated by sinister motives like these, mere habit and want of reflection may cause writers in the press to injure the cause of true Peace by dilating unduly, for instance, on the difficulties in its way, by speaking despairingly of its prospects, by depreciating the effects of arbitration and keeping alive the illusion that a wide range of subjects are outside its scope; above all, by maintaining the fallacy that war is, under modern conditions, a real or satisfactory solution of the quarrels it is intended to determine. By constantly saying that war is inevitable, one goes a long way towards making it so; by declaring often enough that universal peace is a dream, one discourages all efforts to realize it; by taking up a general fatalistic attitude regarding the moral progress of mankind one shows a practical want of faith in one's own Christian profession.

The Influence of the Professional Fighting-man

Once more, we might take stock of the fact that there exists a class which is not without great influence upon the press, and thus upon public opinion, in each civilized state,—I mean the professional fighting-men, whether soldiers or sailors, whose interests are naturally bound up with the continuance and cultivation of war. The profession of arms, of course, has the same justification as war itself. Embraced to further the reign of justice on earth and to support the moral code against violation, it is a noble and an honourable profession, a guarantee for the security of the State, and a necessary condition for the exercise by the rest of the citizens of the arts of peace. If the army (to speak, for convenience, of the one service only) could but be kept out of sight until it was needed! But unhappily it must be there all the time, flaunting before the public eye and keeping the public mind habituated to the attractive side of war, to the practical exclusion of the thought of its horrors. And into the literature of the nations has crept much that seems to eulogize war, although on analysis it will be found, for the most part, to be praise either of the virtues which the conditions of war evoke or else its mere spectacular aspect,—"The brilliance of battle, the bloom and the beauty, the splendour of spears." This is bad enough, but add to this that the result of the soldier's training is to make him desire war. No one likes to spend his life in preparation for something that is not going to happen. A proper self-respect prompts a longing to "see service," to have been "under fire." There is no more coveted decoration than the V.C., and this cannot be gained in peace-time. "War, war, bloody war; north, east, south, west!" sighs the Cockney soldier in Kipling's story, rusting in the ennui of barrack-life, and the aspiration is in a sense

a natural one. Of course, the soldier may reflect that by his mere existence he is serving his country, ensuring respect for her rights and setting his fellow-citizens free to pursue their careers in security. But soldiers are human beings, not philosophers, and they see in war the readiest means of obtaining what they most desire—credit for courage, excitement, promotion, the testing of theories. And so, almost inevitably, the professional soldiers, especially those in command, incline to war, or at any rate to the possibility of war, rather than to peace. In the press on behalf of this class preparations for war are recorded and discussed, battle-tactics elaborated, engines of destruction described. And the soldier himself, rousing our admiration as representing the martial virtues, makes us forget the dreadful business for which he is destined. It would almost seem, were it not that man began fighting before he wore anything at all, that the pomp and circumstance of glorious war were devised, like the lovely markings of the python, to shroud its real character as much as possible. If only convention had determined that the armies of industry should be clothed and decorated and marshalled as are the armies of destruction, militarism would have been shorn of its most unfair advantage. The wise municipality of the future, we may hope, will clothe its officials in gorgeous uniforms. Policeman and tram-man, postman and messenger boy, will gleam with purple and gold, and organized labour be resplendent with regimental badges. Thus something will be done to show that peace hath her loveliness no less than war.

Conclusion

We have now seen something of the influences in the press and in our social surroundings which tend to perpetuate the notion that war is part of the natural scheme of things. We may be told further

that Revelation itself testifies to the survival of fighting till the end of time, for "wars and rumours of war" are to characterize the last days of the world; it may be pointed out that, since the individual trying to live up to the Christian ideal meets with a severe struggle within his own breast, the likelihood of that ideal being realized in society at large is exceedingly small. All these things notwithstanding, we must each of us do our part to restore the reign of Justice, by destroying the causes of war—lust of unlawful gain, overweening ambition, national arrogance, desire of revenge, unjust commercial rivalry, unreasoning hostility to those of alien blood. The Catholic should be optimistic in this matter, knowing that religion must necessarily be the chief factor in reuniting in a common regard for justice the many races of mankind, no longer isolated as of old by difficulties of transit or complete severance of interests. For with religion comes the mighty influence of the grace of God. There would be no war if all States sought only justice, and States will seek justice if their citizens practise it. Many influences are at present at work, as we have seen, to promote peace; it is for the Christian to give prominence to the most powerful and the most permanent, the appeal of Christianity.

The ideal of Catholicism is universal Peace, the establishment of God's Kingdom over all the earth, the substitution of free regard for law in place of unwilling submission to force, the regulating of that individualistic instinct which fulfils its providential function in establishing nations, but perverts it in estranging them. It would be something gained to have that ideal generally recognized even amongst Catholics.

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